

Final Phase of War in Vietnam Blueprinted by General

Following are excerpts from the text of Gen. William C. Westmoreland's address to the National Press Club:

Let me review with you the enemy's situation and our own, and let me offer my estimate of our relative positions.

Since 1925, when Ho Chi Minh arrived in Canton, China, he has actively sought to gain control of the area known as Indochina. In 1930, the Indochina Communist Party was created with Ho Chi Minh as its chief. However, since that time, the cause and methods have been similar to those of other Asian Communist Parties.

Ho Chi Minh's Party came to power amid the chaotic conditions at the end of World War II. Although the present government of North Vietnam has taken a facade of democracy, it has remained under tight control of the same small, determined group of Communists who served Ho Chi Minh in the Communist Party of the 1930s.

By 1954 it appeared to them that they had overcome the last major obstacle to the original goal. A million people had been displaced from the North, and although they were fleeing communism, they created a burden on the new government of South Vietnam. For the next few years, the Communists believed that South Vietnam would succumb politically. These hopes were dashed by the vigor of the non-Communist government and by U.S. assistance.

Reverted to Terror

In 1957 they reverted to terror, both indiscriminate and selective, with the assassination of teachers and local leaders. This terror rate went up every year. Despite that, it did not succeed. So, to guerrilla terror was added the military buildup of Vietcong main force units from 1959. Even this was not enough.

In 1963 and 1964 there started the military invasion from the North, when the first North Vietnamese Regiments entered the South. This almost succeeded. By early 1965, the Vietnamese government found its resolution exhausted by a decade of struggle, and its last resources committed. It was at that point that the intervention of our armed forces restored a future to the long-suffering people of South Vietnam, who grasped the opportunity.

As you know, in the midst of war the South Vietnamese have in the past year held free elections, and have turned out a larger percentage of the vote than we normally do in this country. The Vietcong have tried desperately to stop these elections by terror and intimidation. But the Vietnamese voted despite the Vietcong efforts. This mass disregard of Vietcong initiatives killed the myth that the Vietcong or the National Liberation Front speak for the people.

It is significant that the enemy has not won a major battle in more than a year. In general, he can fight his large forces only at the edges of his sanctuaries, as we have seen recently at Conthien and along the DMZ, at Dakto opposite the Laotian border, at Songbe and Locninh near the Cambodian border. His Vietcong military units can no longer fill their ranks from the South but must depend increasingly on replacements from North Vietnam. His guerrilla force is declining at a steady rate. Morale problems are developing within his ranks.

Seeks to Prolong War

Despite this, our enemy seeks to prolong the war, occasionally sallying forth from his sanctuaries, and attempting by his countersweep operations to regain control of the population and to rebuild his guerrilla forces. Of essential importance is his desire to force us politically to stop, unconditionally, the bombing of his support base and his lines of communication. He appears to believe that he can defeat the Vietnamese forces, over 600,000 strong and getting stronger, reinforced by over 50,000 troops from Free World Allies, and our commitment now approaching 500,000 men.

PLAN—From Page A1

War's End Visible to Commander

"to prevent rebuilding and to make infiltration more costly," Westmoreland said.

Also in 1963, the General said, American and allied forces will continue their spoiling operations against "North Vietnamese forays."

He called these and other steps Phase 3. He said Phase 4, starting in 1969, "will see the conclusion of our plan to weaken the enemy and strengthen our friends until we become progressively superfluous."

While Westmoreland did not say exactly how long Phase 4 would last, he reiterated that "it is conceivable to me that within two years or less it will be possible for us to phase down our level of commitment."

The first U.S. troop withdrawal will be a token number, he said, but "certainly we are preparing to make it progressive."

The objective of Phase 4, Westmoreland said, "will be to show the world that guerrilla warfare and invasion do not pay as a new means of Communist aggression."

He drew this picture of Phase 4: slowed enemy troop infiltration from North to South Vietnam; "near collapse" of the Communist infrastructure; stabilized Vietnamese government; turnover of U.S. military bases to the improved Vietnamese military forces which will do the "final mopping up of the Vietcong."

Westmoreland predicted this mopping up "will probably last several years."

In Phase I, Westmoreland said forces at his disposal

"weren't hurting" the enemy, complained about the seemingly large number of troops in non-combat jobs.

Talking about the pressure the U.S. has brought to bear on the enemy in Phase 2, Westmoreland said: "It is significant that the enemy has not won a major battle in more than a year."

"In general, he can fight his large forces only at the edges of his sanctuaries, as we have seen recently at Conthien and along the DMZ, at Dakto opposite the Laotian border, at Songbe and Locninh near the Cambodian border."

Asked why the Army chose to fight the enemy on such unfavorable ground as that around Dakto, Westmoreland said to do otherwise would mean drawing back into enclaves—a strategy he said he opposes.

He disputed that the terrain was unfavorable to the U.S., declaring superior American firepower and mobility with helicopters puts the enemy at the disadvantage.

The commander conceded the enemy won one significant battle in March, 1966, by overrunning Ashau Valley Special Forces Camp.

North Vietnamese regulars killed about 350 Montagnard defenders of the triangular fortress and 10 "Green Beret" advisers. He said this gave the enemy control over a "significant piece of real estate" along the Quangnang Provincial Border, easing infiltration along the supply route from Laos.

Overall in 1968, "61 per cent of my troops will be in a combat role," Westmoreland said. This compares with 57 per cent during World War II and the Korean War, he said.

Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara during his last visit to Vietnam reportedly



BUSINESS AT BREAKFAST—President Johnson met with his advisers on Vietnam at an early morning breakfast session yesterday morning. The group included, clockwise from left, Vice President Humphrey; Robert Komer, deputy for pacification programs; Tom Johnson, assistant press secretary; Richard Helms, Central Intelligence

Agency director; Secretary Rusk; Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker; the President; Gen. William Westmoreland, who later spoke at the National Press Club; Defense Secretary McNamara; Gen. Earle Wheeler, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; George Christian, press secretary; and Walt Rostow, special assistant to the President.

Our common plan with the Vietnamese has involved four distinct phases. In Phase I we came to the aid of South Vietnam, prevented its collapse under the massive Communist thrust, built up our bases and began to deploy our forces. In Phase I we planned and did the following:

Built ports, airfields, and supply and maintenance areas.

Set up a 10,000-mile-long supply pipeline.

Constructed an extensive communication system.

Brought in 400,000 men and several thousand aircraft.

Deployed troops throughout South Vietnam.

Learned to work alongside the Vietnamese army while encouraging development of a representative government.

Equipped and revitalized the Vietnamese armed forces, whose morale was low.

Expanded the armed forces of South Vietnam in quantitative terms.

Defended South Vietnam against defeat and against being cut in half.

Learned to cope with guerrilla tactics.

Set up an intelligence system for this new type of war.

Limited inflation.

Developed our own confidence that we could operate successfully in the environment of Southeast Asia.

By Middle of 1966

We did all this by the middle of 1966. It was a tribute to U.S. organization, technology, and concerted diplomatic and military professionalism by many people. At that point, during the summer of 1966, we moved into the second phase of our plan. In Phase II we continued the pattern and did the following:

Drove the enemy divisions back to sanctuary or into hiding.

Trained, expanded and improved the quality of the Vietnamese armed forces.

Assisted Free World forces of the Pacific area to join the battle against Communist aggression.

Entered enemy base areas and destroyed his supplies.

Raised enemy losses beyond his input capability.

Helped train the Vietnamese army as a territorial security force.

Encouraged combined U.S.-Vietnamese operations.

Continued to help the Vietnamese armed forces in professional development.

Completed free elections within South Vietnam.

Saw an elected civilian government installed.

Stabilized prices—opening roads and canals.

Encouraged enemy defection and resettlement.

Discovered and thwarted the enemy's battle plans before they could be executed.

Unified the U.S. pacification assistance effort for better management of widespread resources.

We will complete this second phase by the end of this year. Before leaving my discussion of this phase, there is one other management aspect worthy of mention. Our rapid buildup 10,000 miles away in an undeveloped nation lacking in logistics support facilities has created many problems. Some units brought to Vietnam equipment that has not been needed. Some supplies were shipped automatically based on experience in other wars and have not been consumed in the quantities expected.

At the same time, our magnificent fighting men have received what they needed to do their job. Now, at the end of this second phase, we have been able to intensify logistical management and turn our attention to eliminating any excess items which may have developed. MACV has instituted an efficiency and economy program to which I have given the thrifty sounding name of Project MACONOMY.

Now the Third Phase

With 1968, a new phase is now starting. We have reached an important point when the end begins to come into view. What is this third phase we are about to enter?

In Phase III, in 1968, we intend to do the following:

Help the Vietnamese armed forces to continue improving their effectiveness.

Decrease our advisers in training centers and other places where the professional competence of Vietnamese officers makes this possible.

Increase our advisory effort with the younger brothers of the Vietnamese army: the Regional Forces and Popular Forces.

Use U.S. and Free World forces to destroy North Vietnamese forays while

we assist the Vietnamese to reorganize for territorial security.

Provide the new military equipment to revitalize the Vietnamese army, and prepare it to take on an ever-increasing share of the war.

Continue pressure on North to prevent rebuilding and to make infiltration more costly.

Turn a major share of front-line DMZ defense over to the Vietnamese army.

Increase U.S. support in the rich and populated Delta.

Help the government of Vietnam single out and destroy the Communist Shadow Government.

Continue to isolate the guerrilla from the people.

Help the new Vietnamese government to respond to popular aspirations, and to reduce and eliminate corruption.

Help the Vietnamese strengthen their police forces to enhance law and order.

Open more roads and canals.

Continue to improve the Vietnamese economy and standard of living.

The Final Phase

Now for Phase IV—the final phase. That period will see the conclusion to our plan to weaken the enemy and strengthen our friends until we become progressively superfluous. The object will be to show the world that guerrilla warfare and invasion do not pay as a new means of Communist aggression.

I see Phase IV happening as follows: Infiltration will slow. The Communist infrastructure will be cut up and near collapse.

The Vietnamese government will prove its stability, and the Vietnamese army will show that it can handle Vietcong.

The Regional Forces and Popular Forces will reach a higher level of professional performance.

U.S. units can begin to phase down as the Vietnamese army is modernized and develops its capacity to the fullest.

The military physical assets, bases and ports, will be progressively turned over to the Vietnamese.

The Vietnamese will take charge of the final mopping up of the Vietcong (which will probably last several years). The U.S., at the same time, will continue the developmental help envisaged by the President for the community of Southeast Asia.

You may ask how long Phase III will take, before we reach the final phase. We have already entered parts of Phase III. Looking back on Phases I and II we can conclude that we have come a long way.

I see progress as I travel all over Vietnam.

I see it in the attitudes of the Vietnamese.

I see it in the open roads and canals.

I see it in the new crops and the new purchasing power of the farmer.

I see it in the increased willingness of the Vietnamese Army to fight North Vietnamese units and in the victories they are winning.

Parenthetically, I might say that the U.S. press tends to report U.S. actions; so you may not be as aware as I am of the victories won by South Vietnamese forces.

Enemy Has Problems

The enemy has many problems: He is losing control of the scattered population under his influence.

He is losing credibility with the population he still controls.

He is alienating the people by his increased demands and taxes where he can impose them.

He sees the strength of his forces steadily declining.

He can no longer recruit in the South to any meaningful extent; he must plug the gap with North Vietnamese.

His monsoon offensives have been failures.

He was dealt a mortal blow by the installation of a freely elected representative government.

And he failed in his desperate effort to take the world's headlines from the inauguration by a military victory.

Lastly, the Vietnamese army is on the road to becoming a competent force. Korean troops in Vietnam provided a good example for the Vietnamese. Fifteen years ago the Koreans themselves had problems now ascribed to the Vietnamese. The Koreans surmounted these problems and so can and will the Vietnamese.

Some Accomplishments

The Vietnamese armed forces have accomplished much in a short time. Here are a few examples:

Career management for officers, particularly infantry officers, has been instituted.

Sound promotion procedures have been put into effect.

Discipline and conduct is being stressed.

Increased emphasis is being devoted to small-unit tactics and leadership.

The promotion of enlisted men to the commissioned ranks is now commonplace (2200 in 1966).

Officer candidates must now take basic training and prove that they have the leadership potential to be officers.

An inspector general for the Vietnamese armed forces has been appointed and is now active in detailed inspections.

Corrupt and inefficient officials are being gradually eliminated.

The military school system has been revitalized.

The Military Academy has gone to a four-year curriculum.

A school for battalion commanders has been established.

A ten-month National Defense College has been organized for selected senior officers.

The same personnel management programs which have been installed successfully in the Vietnamese army are being expanded to the Regional Forces and Popular Forces.

We are making progress. We know you want an honorable and early transition to the fourth and last phase.

So do your sons and so do I.

It lies within our grasp—the enemy's hopes are bankrupt. With your support we will give you a success that will impact not only on South Vietnam, but on every emerging nation in the world.

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United Press International

Sen. Joseph Clark announces he will run for a third term.

Clark Seeks 3d Term, Says He'll Back LBJ

By Andrew J. Glass
Washington Post Staff Writer

Joseph S. Clark—a liberal Democrat who differs with President Johnson on Vietnam but who will have nothing to do with dumping him as the Party's leader—yesterday said he will seek a third term next year as a Senator from Pennsylvania.

Clark coupled his announcement with the prediction that "there is a very good chance that by next November, the President will have succeeded in getting the shooting stopped and negotiations going."

The 67-year-old Senator faces a probable primary contest against Pennsylvania Supreme Court Justice Michael A. Musmanno, an old foe. Musmanno said the announcement "generates about as much surprise as a water-soaked firecracker" and "it would be a disgrace and a calamity" for Clark to be re-elected.

Likely Contender

The Republican contender for the Senate seat will most likely be Rep. Richard S. Schweiker, who is from Philadelphia.

Clark also mentioned State Internal Affairs Secretary John K. Tabor as a possible GOP opponent. Clark's strongest potential rival, former

Gov. William Scranton, has said that he is not interested in public office.

Some of Clark's deepest political problems revolve about the planned presidential candidacy of Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy (D-Minn.). Clark, who shares many of McCarthy's views on Vietnam, said he is "happy to see him in the arena to continue the debate."

But Clark was not happy at all about the plans of the Philadelphia chapter of the Americans for Democratic Action to give him a dinner next Jan. 27 at which McCarthy was to be the featured speaker.

Stokes Is Invited

Norval Reece, ADA executive director in Philadelphia, said Clark and McCarthy talked it over, after which McCarthy decided not to come. The group has invited Carl B. Stokes, the newly elected Negro mayor of Cleveland, in McCarthy's place.

Clark has told the President that if the United States is unable to settle the Vietnam conflict by July, there is "a grave danger" that "you will be defeated and I will go down with you."

The Senator, in fielding questions at a crowded press conference, stood by the remark.

TAXES—From A1

Optimism Expressed On Surtax

with an additional degree of risk and peril.

"The dollar has an outstanding and almost unique position, and it is necessary to take actions to minimize any speculative risk."

Fowler confirmed that France had withdrawn from the international gold "pool" operated in London. This had been reported in The Washington Post yesterday morning in a story from Paris.

"I've known about it for a long time," Fowler said in answer to a question, "and I've long since ceased to be worried." He added later that he did not think French withdrawal from the gold pool operation had been one of the sources of pressure on the British pound.

The Secretary said it was of "prime" importance to "avoid a general competitive devaluation which would be destructive to world trade."

He praised the operation of the international financial mechanism of the free world that was helping to "isolate" the British devaluation. The major countries, he noted are "expected to stand firm" on the present value of their currencies.

But equally important, he said, "is the need to protect the dollar, to maintain confidence in the dollar, and that means taking measures to assure strength in the dollar."

Financial circles here and abroad, Fowler said, "have the feeling that it is important for the United States Government to take steps to reduce its existing deficit, to minimize the risks of mounting inflation, to resist escalation of interest rates, and to avoid a boom and bust cycle."

He refused to say whether the general increase in banks' prime rate yesterday from 5½ to 6 per cent was healthy or unhealthy. But he observed that it was "another result of delay" in enacting the tax measure.

Fowler had no prepared statement. All of his comments were off the cuff, but obviously ones that had been carefully thought out in advance.

The Secretary said that imposition of wage and price controls was not the answer to the problems of the American economy. "It is not in the cards—it is not in anybody's mind," he said. Rather, he said, the need is to get a tax increase to relieve the burden on the credit markets arising from Federal borrowing.

Without a tax increase, he said that the Federal Government would need an extra \$5 billion of credit from the financial markets in the first six months of this year, the Federal Government actually supplied \$11 billion to the market.

It is this "swing" of \$16 billion, Fowler said, that will put enormous pressure on interest rates without a tax increase.

Both Fowler and Schultz said they were optimistic now about getting a tax bill, but they denied charges on Capitol Hill that the President had knuckled under to the demand for expenditure reductions.

Fowler cited his own and the President's statements to prove that the Administration had always been ready, once the scorecard on appropriation bills had become clear, "to take what action would be needed for an acceptable package."

The President, Schultz said, wants a combination of tax-boosting and expenditure-cutting measures "that have a reasonable chance of being accepted by the various committees involved."

The \$3 billion in savings that the Budget Director said Congress has made—which now puts the outside level of the Budget deficit at \$26 billion—consist of \$1 billion in additional pay raises proposed but not made by Congress.

Adelson Testifies In Johnson Trial

By Bart Barnes
Washington Post Staff Writer

BALTIMORE, Nov. 21—Adelson said on the witness stand today that no matter how minute a legal question concerning the two associations was, Edlin would still insist that any decision be cleared with Johnson.

Of "\$16,000 or \$17,000" he received in legal fees from Edlin, Adelson testified, he gave \$3500 to Johnson as payment for Johnson's assistance to him on legal affairs of the associations.

"He should have received more," Adelson testified, "but he wouldn't take it."

During the early months of 1961, Adelson testified, he met with Johnson, Robinson and Edlin "numerous times" for discussions of savings and loan regulatory measures enacted by the Maryland Legislature.

Some of these meetings were held in Baltimore, some at Johnson's apartment at the Fairfax Hotel in Washington and some at Johnson's Congressional office, Adelson testified.

He said some of these sessions "lasted until three or four in the morning" and 95 per cent of the discussion was about legal questions involving the two associations.

Adelson also testified that he and Johnson never discussed Johnson's visit to the Justice Department in connection with the Edlin indictment.

Johnson has admitted visit fee and it was in support of this contention that he called Adelson to testify today. Adelson did not testify at the 1963 trial.

Adelson said on the witness stand today that no matter how minute a legal question concerning the two associations was, Edlin would still insist that any decision be cleared with Johnson.

The witness was M. William Adelson, who said he was the legal adviser to savings and loan magnate J. Kenneth Edlin's First Colony and First Continental Savings and Loan Associations during the early 1960s.

Adelson told Judge R. Dorsey Watkins on direct examination that Edlin insisted every decision concerning the legal affairs of the two savings and loan associations be cleared with Johnson.

Johnson is accused on seven counts of selling his influence as a Congressman.

The Government contends Johnson accepted \$17,500 in sham legal fees from Edlin in return for Johnson's efforts to persuade the Justice Department to drop a mail fraud indictment pending in 1961 against Edlin and First Colony.

Convicted with Edlin, former Rep. Frank W. Boykin (D-Ala.) and an Edlin associate, William L. Robinson, at a 1963 trial, Johnson's conviction was reversed on appeal and he is being retried.

Johnson's defense is that any money he received from Edlin was a legitimate legal fee and it was in support of this contention that he called Adelson to testify today. Adelson did not testify at the 1963 trial.



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1. If displayed on a pole, the flag is always raised to the peak with the stars on top.
2. When a flag is displayed horizontally or vertically against a wall, the stars should always be at the viewer's left.
3. When flown at half staff, the flag is first hoisted to the peak, then lowered to half staff.

The flag should again be raised to the peak before it is lowered. (On Memorial Day, the flag should fly at half staff until noon, then be raised to the peak.)

4. No part of the flag should ever touch the ground.

—Public Law 829, 77th Congress, 2nd Session, H.J. Res. 359

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Low-Income Unit Proposed for HUD

Sen. Edward W. Brooke (R-Mass.) proposed yesterday that the Federal Housing Administration be stripped of its responsibility for creating low-income housing.

With three other Senators, he introduced a bill establishing a separate unit in the Department of Housing and Urban Development to handle Federal insurance for housing for low- and moderate-income families.

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